[illegible] into which these streams empty their water. Beyond the mountains and the valley, far from the reach of human [illegible], lies the ocean, great and mighty and eternal, into which Socialism, together with many other rivers, pours abundant waters.

The name of the mountain range on the nearer side is Political; the name of the other Industrial. These two mountain ranges constitute Socialism, or democracy—political and industrial. These are the dominating and essential conceptions of Socialism. Understand these two lofty thoughts, and all else that belongs to Socialism must follow. The mountains have little to do with the sunlight and the rain from heaven, but they undoubtedly determine the social watershed, the direction of the little streams, and the inevitable trend of the great river.

* * *

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Political Democracy lies near at hand, but the people are not yet in full possession. It is only with great difficulty that they can assert their will. Our nation is in reality merely an aristocracy, and the framers of the Constitution wittingly or unwittingly made it such from the beginning. We lack the essential features of true popular rule.

The people vote, but they are so restricted in the use of their franchise that they cannot promptly and effectively make their will and power felt. The framers of the Constitution were afraid to trust the people fully, or they perhaps did not want to trust them fully; for they provided a system of so-called "checks and balances" which make government by the people remote and indirect. A sharing of legislative power between Congress and President, a Congress divided into two houses, a Supreme Court far removed from the control of the people, a complicated and restricted method of [illegible] amendment, besides a [illegible] people to rule. [illegible] were perhaps intended to be a safeguard to democracy; but they have only checked the will of the people and balanced most beautifully the power of a privileged few. They have become points of vantage to the class in the saddle, whatever that class may happen to be—usually the strong and unscrupulous.

Political parties have made still more remote and difficult the rule of the people, and they have laid their restraining hands on every state, county, and city in the land.

The result is not a government by the people, but a government by the ward heeler, the political boss, and the corrupted parties, who have risen superior to the will of the people and secured those points of vantage from which, by means of graft, the buying of voters and the purchase of legislators, executives, and judges, they can so successfully defy public opinion. Consequently, the man with money counts far more than the man with a vote. The politcial bosses are not altruists devoting their whole lives to party activity for purely patriotic motives. They are paid; and as they are not paid out of public treasuries they must be paid by certain people who have money. Neither are those who do the paying moved merely by altruistic motives. Their object is to buy something, and it is to be presumed that they get what they pay for.

The financial interests are in politics for the purpose of controlling government to their own advantage. In all recent exposures there has been unearthed not a single instance of political corruption that cannot be traced to some business interest as its fountain head. We are in the habit of blaming politicians for political corruption, but we must not forget who it is that pay the politicians. The people vote, the politicians reign, and the corporations rule. Privilege dwells secure, arrogantly defiant of public opinion, for the reason that democracy cannot make itself felt.

We must have, therefore, a more thorough-going political democracy. But to accomplish [illegible]

[illegible] have the power [illegible] body whenever they [illegible]. Under the initiative the people [illegible] propose and enact laws which a legislature may refuse to pass. To this some would add the recall, but that is not essential. After securing the referendum and the initiative, the people can have the recall whenever they need it and want it. There is no need of agitating for it now. Nor need we agitate much against those exasperating "checks and balances." Establish the referendum and the initiative, and all those things that are objectionable to democracy will in due time either be sloughed off of themselves or they will be effectively disposed of by a sovereign people. The thing that is essential is to make the people sovereign. This will not end the battle, but it will give the people the power to determine its outcome; and it will open the way for them to undertake whatever other changes they may collectively deem necessary.

The referendum and the initiative are now being urged by people who are not Socialists (for which let us be devoutly thankful), and there is a likelihood of their being generally adopted even before the Socialists shall have been established in power. But that does not matter; it simply means that Socialism will advance all the faster. These measures, however, are Socialistic in principle, none the less; for there can be no Socialism that is not politically democratic. If we could conceive of an absolute monarchy benevolently granting to the people everything in the way of social well-being that the Socialist demands, that would not be Socialism. Social salvation must spring from the people through "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." It is something that must be acquired by a sovereign people as an inalienable [illegible]. Even God could not [illegible]

[illegible] wisely, and that it is dangerous to trust them with an unchecked government. It is true, the people are not infallible. They are ignorant, and they are capable of doing many foolish things. Even with such restricted powers as they now have they do not vote intelligently. But for all that it is better to trust the people than to trust anybody else. With all their limitations the people are going to rule themselves a great deal better than anybody else can do it for them. No other form of government has yet produced anything to brag of.

Even if the people do rule themselves badly, who has a better right to do it? Besides, the people are capable of learning by experience; and that in itself is a good thing. A thorough-going democracy will develop and educate the people. It will develop them in character; it will give them breadth of view; it will enlarge them in mind, in heart, and in soul. Even if the people do manage badly for a time, the enlargement of their life in the experience gained is of more significance than good government, for good government is not the whole aim of our social activities. A chance to take a hand in the thing and to see what can be done with it is worth far more.

But let us rest easy on that point, for the people are not as radical and dangerous and ready to smash up things as some of us fondly suppose. Give the people power, and they will in fact become conservative. This is plainly seen in Switzerland, for the Swiss with all their unchecked powers are a conservative people. The danger is that a free people are going to be altogether too conservative to suit some of us radicals.

Certainly it is not on record that any free people ever created a reign of terror. It is the people who are checked in their powers and infuriated by insolent opposition who [illegible] rise up and smash things. [illegible]

[illegible] public. The people [illegible] ways to an educational [illegible] will have to be taken [illegible] publicity, and there will always be [illegible] tunity to correct the mistakes [illegible] from human undertakings. [illegible] ple that Socialism, under such [illegible] is going to break up the home, [illegible] love, destroy Christianity, and [illegible] anarchy, are simply "whistling in the dark."

* * *

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Across the valley lies the other [illegible] range—Industrial Democracy. The [illegible] must possess not only the political [illegible] the industrial world as well. Kings and [illegible] lords have been pretty well [illegible] more advanced nations, for they have [illegible] been banished or rendered [illegible] harmless. But the last stronghold [illegible] ism is modern industry, and the [illegible] despots are the kings of industry and [illegible] tains of finance. In the person of [illegible] or a Rockefeller a capitalist [illegible] industry, commerce, and [illegible] iron, and who exercises a [illegible] Russian Czar. Wall Street [illegible] ton. Democracy has [illegible] than at Washington [illegible] Wall Street. The lords of Wall Street [illegible] elected by the people; they [illegible] by power of irresponsible [illegible]

In the early days of political democracy [illegible] was not so. At that time the industrial [illegible] simple in their form, work was done [illegible] entirely by hand, and [illegible]

[illegible] organized industrial groups, the [illegible] owning the plant and commanding the [illegible] ers, and a new industrial feudalism utterly foreign to the spirit of democracy.

Society has therefore upon its hands an "[illegible] repressible conflict." There is, first, the [illegible] able struggle between political democracy and industrial feudalism; for these two cannot abide together in peace. One must conquer the other. Political democracy cannot be secure if the industrial world is not [illegible]. A nation cannot survive half [illegible] half feudalistic, or despotic.

Wall Street not only overshadows Washington, but it corrupts Washington. [illegible] its defiling hand upon political democracy [illegible] seeks to destroy it; it must do so or [illegible] perish. Political democracy [illegible] rightly retaliates. It, too, cannot do otherwise, for if it is not to perish from the land, we [illegible] likewise have an industrial democracy—an industrial government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

There is, secondly, the [illegible] conflict between capital and labor. It is [illegible] to assert that the interests of employer and employee are the same, for they are [illegible] by a great many dollars. Capital wants more profits, labor wants more wages, and there is no law to determine where the line [illegible] drawn. It is simply a sordid fight, and the advantage goes to the stronger. [illegible] each party in the conflict is itself [illegible] capital against capital, labor against [illegible]. Capitalists compete with each other for business; laborers scramble with each other for jobs. The most unscrupulous [illegible] the standard for business; the most [illegible] sive laborers for the scale of wages. The result is confusion, chaos, [illegible] to the wall [illegible]

[illegible]

...great work as a true democracy should.

SOME OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM

There are those who say concerning Socialism, "The ideal is fine, but we can't reach it; it is [illegible] human nature."

But the Socialist responds, "It is not against human nature, but against human greed. To say that we can't is a coward's reason. We can if we will."

We are not going to accomplish everything at once, it is true; but we certainly can begin. So we are going to keep that great, splendid vision before us, and work at this thing, advancing just as fast as we can and no faster. All the while we are going to be at the forefront in every genuine move toward an improvement of human conditions, and by that much urge the slow world on its upward way.

It is objected, too, that Socialism will destroy individual initiative, and that for lack of adequate reward there will be no incentive for men to put forth their best energy. But if material reward be the greatest incentive for men to put forth their best effort, then our millionaires ought to be the greatest, the holiest, the most self-sacrificing spirits of our age. As a matter of fact, the services of the [illegible]

[illegible]

...There will still be competition, but competition on a higher level—not competition for the most money but competition for the highest excellence.

There will consequently be no "leveling" process, as some fear. Everyone is to have an equal opportunity, but that is all. Ability, fitness, initiative, and persevering industry will determine a man's rank and place after that. Socialism contemplates no oppressive system into which men will be compelled to merge their individuality. That would not constitute a true democracy. Socialism comes not to destroy individualism, but to fulfill it, to give it ample scope for freedom and for self-expression.

It is objected also that Socialism lays too much stress upon the economic life of humanity, in that it emphasizes material well-being as against the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual. The objection comes from a house of glass, for we can hardly imagine any system that could emphasize the material side of life more than that under which we now live. But let the objection stand, for it is true that Socialism is more concerned with economics than with anything else.

Economics is the particular field with which Socialism has to do, and the economic problem is the most formidable proposition with which modern society has to deal.

It is Socialism's particular task to get the economic problem out of the way, so as to give more ample scope to man's higher life. This being true, Socialism is not materialistic, but is indeed [illegible] anti-materialistic.

The economic condition of a people determines the life of that people. Moral and spiritual [illegible] of many values [illegible]

[illegible]

...man who has become [illegible] in poverty, much burdened, is [illegible] just as he is in the mud. For the time being he is interested in mud and in the problem of how to get out of it. The beauty of the lilies do not concern him in the least, and he will even trample over some of the most exquisite lilies in his struggle to get out.

Socialism has to do with the millions of people who are in the mud of economic conditions, and for the time being it is chiefly concerned with the problems of how to get them out of it. For the present, then, it is a far greater task to rescue men out of the mud than it is to save the lilies. When men become economically free, relieved of his depressing economic burden, he will reach out all the more effectively after the higher satisfaction of mind and heart and soul.

* * *

THY KINGDOM COME

Returning to the figure of the social landscape, it may be said in conclusion that we have considered only the two great essential features of Socialism—the two mountain ranges running parallel, Political and Industrial, both of which democracy must conquer and possess if we are to have in any full sense "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." These are the two dominating and essential conceptions of Socialism. There are the lesser features of Socialism, like the little hills; but these all merge into the two great mountain ranges that reach thus boldly across the whole scene of social activity. There remain the broad valley and the great river, but they represent other thoughts and other movements that likewise enter into the making of man's life.

Thus it is a most splendid vision which the [illegible] Socialist contemplates. He is a [illegible] and is able to [illegible] He has [illegible]

[illegible]

Nearly nineteen centuries have passed since Christ proclaimed, "The Kingdom of God is at hand," but the Kingdom of God does not yet possess the earth. Nevertheless, it was "at hand," and through the long continuing mercy of God it is still "at hand." Only man must rise to the opportunity God has given him and make that Kingdom his own.

A true democracy is a true brotherhood, and a true brotherhood—with Christ as the elder brother—must own God as Father. Democracy becomes one with the Kingdom of God.

CATCH ON [illegible]

In order to win as many people to Socialism as we can during the campaign and to get a grip on thousands of new people for the study of Socialism next year, the following proposition is presented:

For $1.00 (with their names and addresses) we will send the monthly propaganda [illegible] of the Christian Socialist for five months to TEN people.

Considering the expense of addressing and wrappers for these papers, this is an extremely economical offer. Thus you may interest ten or more of your friends or acquaintances in the best Socialist literature obtainable for five months at 10c each. Or you can send these papers to teachers, preachers or other people you may select.

And you may have these short term subscriptions begin with July and include the Independence and Business Specials, or begin with the November Special, or you may have them begin with this September [illegible] through the remainder of the campaign, [illegible] the election reports and [illegible] Perhaps it would be better to [illegible] start with the July issue, giving [illegible] issues before election.

[illegible] of course, you can [illegible]

[illegible]

The Socialist Candidates

By Allan L. Benson, in Pearson's Magazine for August

This is the first of three stories of the Presidential candidates. In the next issue, the September Pearson's, will be the stories of the men who are nominated by the Republicans. The October Pearson's will contain the stories of the Democratic nominees. The story of each candidate will be written by a writer who favors the candidacy.—Editors of Pearson's Magazine.

Some men cannot think of Debs without thinking of the devil. Other men cannot think of the devil without thinking of Debs. No man was ever more lied about. For twenty years he has been a great public figure in this country, but the people do not yet understand him. They have had no chance to understand him. The persons who make public opinion in this country do not want him understood. If Debs were understood, they might be understood, too. Debs is and long has been the implacable foe of the class that makes public opinion in this country. That class is the capitalist class. It controls almost all of the newspapers. It controls almost all of the magazines. It controls many of the churches. It has had the power to stifle truth and spread falsehood. It has stifled truth and spread falsehood.

I happen to know Eugene V. Debs well. I have known him for ten years. If everybody knew him as I know him, he would be one of the best loved men in America. Some day everyone will know him as I know him. The time may not come until after he is dead. A white marble finger may be pointing up from the grass, somewhere. But the time will come. To such men the time always comes. It came to John Brown. It came to Wendell Phillips. It came to William Lloyd Garrison. It will come to Debs.

[illegible] told from the lips of others, I shall tell who are those others. In no case shall I stretch the truth to stretch his stature. I shall show Debs as I know Debs to be.

The blood of the French runs through the veins of Eugene Victor Debs. He was born in Terre Haute, Ind., November 5, 1855, of Jean Daniel Debs and Margaret Marie Betterich, who came to America from France in 1849. It was a wonderful family into which he was born. It was not wonderful because of the affection that the parents gave their ten children—parents usually give their children affection. It was wonderful because of the affection that the children gave to their parents and to each other. It was a solid block of twelve that nothing but death could disintegrate. The parents became old, but the children could not forget. The children became old, but the parents could not forget. Particularly, Eugene could not forget his mother.

"She has been the dominant influence of my life," he once said. "Whatever of good there is in me, I owe to her. I care absolutely nothing for the praise or the condemnation of the world so long as my wife and my mother think I am in the right."

The mother lived until the spring of 1906. So long as she lived, the father wanted to live. But when she died, he seemed no longer to want to live. Nor did he long survive her. Early in the following autumn, at the age of 86, he took his place beside her in the tomb.

Debs' childhood did not last long. He had not finished high school when, at the age of 15, poverty knocked at his schoolroom door, beckoned him from his seat and told him to come [illegible]. He came. He had to come. Nor did he ever go back, except to take a night course in a business college. He had no time to go back. The father—a small country merchant—needed his help. Debs was not only one of ten children, but he was one of two boys in a family of eight girls.

[illegible] first job was in the paint shop of [illegible] railroad that is now a part of [illegible]

continued to be a locomotive fireman until he was 19.

That "Tow-Headed Boy"

About this time the Debs we now know began to grow. Something happened that revealed him to himself and to others. He had left the employ of the railroad company to take a better position with a wholesale grocery house. But when, the next year, a local branch of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was established in Terre Haute, Debs was one of the first to apply for membership. In fact, he was a charter member. He was no longer in the railroad business. The troubles of the firemen meant nothing to him. Yet, in a way, they meant everything to him. He could not forget his own experiences. He knew how hard the men worked and for what little pay. He knew the railroads could afford to pay more. He knew that, with organization, the firemen could compel the railways to pay more. So, when the grocery closed, on the night of February 27, 1875, Debs went to the hall where the firemen were to meet in an effort to organize a union.

Joshua A. Leach, grand master of the brotherhood, had come to Terre Haute to get the movement under way. Debs, in characteristic fashion, sought him out and, without waste of words, told him precisely what he wanted. Grocer boy that he was, he wanted to join the local branch of the firemen.

"My boy," said Leach, "you are a little young, but I believe you're in earnest and will make your mark in the brotherhood. Come on in."

Once in, Debs was immediately chosen secretary. Speaking of the event a few months later in St. Louis, Leach said: [illegible]

[illegible] five years. For two terms of two years each he then served as city clerk, having been elected on the Democratic ticket. The Democrats even offered him a nomination to Congress which he declined, though they did elect him to the Indiana state legislature in 1885. In fact, almost everything that occurred might easily have served to make him forget the little local branch of the firemen's brotherhood that, in 1875, he had joined with so much enthusiasm. Yet, the fact is that during all of these ten years he never missed a meeting of the union. Not only did he miss no meeting, but he took a tremendous share in the work. Not content with trying to help his old friends, the railway firemen, he tried to help all other railway men. He organized the Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen, and, with others, brought into existence the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, the Order of Railway Telegraphers, and the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association.

By this time Debs was fairly striking his stride. He had found his work. With a passion for the cause of labor and a genius for organization, he could no more be kept in a grocery, or any other merchandising business, than an eagle could be kept in a basement. Even while he was holding public office, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen elected him to almost all the offices it had. He was made the grand secretary and treasurer, and the editor and manager of the brotherhood's official magazine.

"With all the fire of youth," he said, "I entered upon this work, which seemed fairly to glitter with possibilities. For eighteen hours at a stretch I was glued to my desk reeling off answers to my many correspondents. Day and night were one. Sleep was time wasted, and often when, all oblivious of her presence, in the still small hours, my mother's hand turned off the light, I went to bed under protest.

"My grip was always packed, and I was darting in all directions. [illegible]

[illegible] served to what [illegible] night, in midwinter, [illegible] conductor on the Erie [illegible] snowbank. As I clambered [illegible] into the arms of a policeman [illegible] story and on the spot became [illegible]

"I rode on the engine over [illegible] plain, slept in the cabooses and [illegible] fed from their pails by the [illegible] who still nestle close to my heart [illegible] til it is cold and still.

"Thus did I become saturated [illegible] of the working class. I had [illegible] and been stung by the exposure [illegible] of the rail.

"I was with the boys in their [illegible] at the broken engine's side, and [illegible] to bear their bruised and bleeding [illegible] to wife and child again. How could [illegible] the burden of their wrongs?"

Whatever Debs felt during [illegible] did a tremendous work for the [illegible] of Locomotive Firemen. When [illegible] service the brotherhood consisted of [illegible] lodges and was $6,000 in debt. [illegible] months Debs had added 226 lodges [illegible] all of the debts and put a balance [illegible] treasury.

But while Debs was doing all of [illegible] which seemed big, he had been [illegible] work which was bigger. He had [illegible] ing of a great railway organization [illegible] all of the employees in one union [illegible] strong and too great to be broken by [illegible] railroad companies in the country. [illegible] 1893, after having served the brotherhood of firemen fifteen years, he resigned his [illegible] offices. His salary from the brotherhood, by the way, was $4,000 a year.

The resignation, when placed before the brotherhood, in convention at Cincinnati, was unanimously refused. Debs insisted [illegible] he wanted to resign; explained that he [illegible] to form a great union of all railway [illegible]

[illegible] expenses on a [illegible] trip to [illegible] thanked the convention very kindly, [illegible] accept the money, walked out of the hall, [illegible] ing the $4,000 a year job that he had voluntarily surrendered and in a few weeks was in Chicago, working for $900 a year, trying to organize the American Railway Union.

"I do this," said he to the firemen [illegible] them, "because it pleases me. There is [illegible] ing I would not do, so far as human effort [illegible] to advance any movement designed to [illegible] and rescue perishing humanity. I have [illegible] for others and that is why I am in this [illegible] When I see suffering about me, I myself suffer, and so, when I put forth my efforts to relieve others, I am simply working for [illegible] I do not consider that I have made any sacrifice whatever; no man does unless he [illegible] his conscience."

The Greatest Labor Strike

Debs organized the American Railway Union so successfully that when, in the [illegible] 1894, the Great Northern Railway [illegible] reduced the wages of its men, Debs [illegible] every train on the road except the [illegible] For eighteen days not a pound of [illegible] moved. It was Eugene V. Debs against [illegible] J. Hill, and Debs was the stronger. [illegible] finally consented to arbitration, and the arbitrators granted 97½ per cent of the [illegible] demands, which represented a [illegible] crease in wages of $146,000. As the [illegible] hostilities, which had been conducted [illegible] the loss of a drop of blood, Hill said [illegible] "You have fought a good fight and [illegible] you."

Meanwhile, events were preparing [illegible] greatest strike that ever took place [illegible] American continent. During the [illegible] the Pullman Palace Car Company [illegible] the wages of its men. Though [illegible] employees were not members of the [illegible] Railway Union, they sought [illegible] Debs. He went to the [illegible] investigated [illegible]

… This was on May 11, 1894. … Mr. Hill, the Pullman … to join the American Railway Union and were admitted. From … that fight between Debs … the world knows how he fought. … this day, not much of the world … he was whipped, by whom he was … he was imprisoned for six … [illegible]

… was whipped by Grover Cleveland, … the behest of the General Managers' … representing the railroads, and … the protest of the governor of Illinois, … federal troops into the state. Federal … Grosscup and Woods added heavy … the beating.

Why Debs Went to Jail

… make these facts plain and prove that … facts. Debs was first arrested upon … indictment charging conspiracy to murder, … few days later, for alleged contempt of … that had issued an injunction against … After the strike was ended, a federal commission was appointed to investigate the … pertaining to the strike, and the commission's report makes this statement with regard to Debs' responsibility for violence:

"The mobs that took possession of railroad … yards and crossings after July 3, and … stoned, tipped over, burned and destroyed … and stole their contents were, by general concurrence in the testimony, composed generally of hoodlums, women, a low class of foreigners and recruits from the criminal classes. … strikers were recognized or arrested in these mobs, which were without leadership and seemed simply bent upon plunder and destruction. . . . In the view that this … strike was wrong, that such mobs … [illegible] … are not shown to have had any … [illegible]"

In other words, Debs' telegrams to his … all of which were seized and read, … that, so far from counseling violence, … had steadfastly counseled against it, and … he therefore had no responsibility for violence except as a strike leader may indirectly … held responsible for any violence that accompanies a strike.

… see what that means. Great strikes … invariably accompanied by some violence. … and criminals break loose. But are … therefore not to strike? Must they continue to work under conditions that are ab… to them lest some one shall break the … And shall strike leaders be held responsible for violence committed against their … by hoodlums and criminals … are not subject to the orders of the strike …?

… Cleveland's own commission testified that Debs had no connection with any of the … that took place during the A. R. U. … Yet there was violence, and force was … to resist it. The governor of Illinois … he was able to cope with the situation; … the federal troops came against his protest. Nor was that all. Attorney General Olney, by direction of Grover Cleveland, permitted … deputy United States marshals to … trains. He did more. He permitted … railway managers to select the men whom … to be marshals, to give them their … and to pay them. The United States … thus permitted the railroads to … in strike breakers as federal officials. … from the report of the commission, that … the strike:

… deputy marshals in the num… selected by and appointed at … [illegible]

… own conduct of any … authority.

What do you think of that? What President of the United States would now dare do what Grover Cleveland did in 1894? Mr. Cleveland's act was so outrageous that his own commission, immediately following the paragraph just quoted, said:

"This is placing officers of the government under control of a combination of railroads. It is a bad precedent that might well lead to serious consequences."

Let some President follow that precedent today, if he dare. Such an outrage could be committed with comparative safety in the days of Cleveland. It could not be safely committed now. Many things have the people learned since 1894. Presidents, too, have learned some things.

Debs, nevertheless, was indicted upon a charge of conspiracy to murder. Eugene Field, the poet, who was then upon the editorial staff of the Chicago "Daily News" heard of the indictment and hastened to Debs' office. Debs was not in. Field wrote the following note, placed a paper-weight upon it and left it upon Debs' desk:

"Dear Gene: I hear th[…] are to be arrested. When that time comes, you will need a friend. I want to be that friend.

Eugene Field."

At the same time this telegram came from his aged parents:

"Stand by your principles, regardless of consequences. Your Father and Mother."

The conspiracy charge was quickly followed by an order for the arrest of Debs and the other leaders of the strike for contempt of court because of an alleged violation of an injunction, thus leaving the strike without leaders. The swift succession of events can perhaps best be described in Debs' own words:

"The strike had proceeded to the point where the combined corporations were paralyzed and helpless. At this juncture there … [illegible] … the flash of every rifle the class struggle was revealed. This was my first lesson in Socialism, though wholly unaware, at that time, that it was called by that name.

"An army of thugs, detectives and murderers were equipped with badge and beer and bludgeon and turned loose. Old hulks of cars were fired. The alarm bells were tolled. The people were terrified. The most startling rumors were set afloat. The press volleyed and thundered, and over all the wires spread the news that Chicago's white throat was in the clutch of a red mob. Injunctions flew thick and fast, arrests followed, and our offices and headquarters, the heart of the strike, were sacked, torn out, and nailed up by the 'lawful' authorities of the federal government. And when, in company with my loyal comrades, I found myself in Cook County jail in Chicago, with the whole of the press screaming conspiracy, treason and murder, and by some fateful coincidence I was given the cell occupied just previous to his execution by the assassin of Mayor Carter Harrison, Sr., overlooking the spot, a few feet distant, where the anarchists were hanged a few years before, I had another exceedingly practical and impressive lesson in Socialism. The next morning the jailer showed us the blood-stained rope used at the last execution and explained, in minutest detail, just how the monstrous crime of lawful murder is committed."

What Happened to the Charges

Let us now see what became of these various charges against Debs. He was placed upon trial for conspiracy to murder and a jury was impaneled. An effort was made to place George M. Pullman upon the witness stand, but he fled from town. Then efforts were made to get various of his secretaries and … [illegible]

… were selected and the testimony … but the government refused to proceed.

And here is an interesting fact. To this day the government has not proceeded with the trial of Debs on the conspiracy charge. The indictment was never quashed. Except for the fact that it has been outlawed, it would still stand against him. The records simply show that the trial of this "horrible monster" for his life was interrupted by the "sickness" of a juror—and never resumed. Anyone who wants to believe that this reason was the true reason is entitled to do so.

Early in July, 1894, and while the strike was still in progress, Federal Judge Woods issued a sweeping injunction against Debs and his associates. Debs realized that the railroads were using the United States courts to break the strike, and determined to give them not even a pretense for arresting him. He therefore went to his attorney, Judge Lyman Trumbull, to seek counsel. Trumbull had drafted the thirteenth amendment to the federal constitution, abolishing slavery, served upon the supreme bench of the state of Illinois, and had also, for sixteen years, been a member of the United States senate and chairman of its judiciary committee.

"When that injunction was served upon me," said Debs, "I went to Judge Trumbull and another of the best constitutional lawyers in Chicago and said: 'What rights, if any, have I under this injunction? I am a law-abiding citizen. I want to do what is right. I want you to examine this injunction and then advise me what to do.'

"They examined the injunction. They said: 'Proceed just as you have been proceeding. You are not committing any violence. You are not advising violence. Instead, you are doing everything in your power to restrain men from the commission of crime or violation of the law.' I followed their advice and got six months for it."

Debs spent the six months in W… [illegible] … injunction. Woods said Debs had violated the injunction. Woods could not say that Debs had violated any law made by the people. He could only say that he had violated a law made by Woods. And for that Debs was deprived of his liberty for six months. Judge Trumbull, speaking of the case, said:

"The decision, carried to its logical conclusion, means that any federal judge can imprison any citizen at will. If this be true, it is judicial despotism, pure and simple, whatever you may choose to call it."

As a matter of fact, the Debs case was the first conspicuous use of the monstrous evil of "government by injunction." The people, then, did not know much about government by injunction. They only knew that a federal judge had sent a man to jail, and, they naturally supposed that the man must be very bad. Since then the people have learned something about the misuse of the power of judicial injunction. But, all of these years Debs has had to bear the burden of what the people did not then know. Has had to live down the reputation that the capitalist newspapers gave him of being a criminal. And it has been a fight.

W. H. Detwyler, a high school teacher in Yonkers, relates an incident that illustrates both the extent of the prejudice against Debs among many who do not know him, and the rapidity with which it is removed when they do know him. Mr. Detwyler, a few years ago, heard Debs speak in Faneuil Hall, Boston. He did not notice, at first, an old man who sat beside him. Soon he became conscious of the fact that the old man was nudging him in the ribs, by way of approval of points made by the speaker. Debs, in one of his fine flights of impassioned, humanitarian oratory, … wring the soul of the old man, … wrinkled face the tears began …

"I must go up …" Detwyler … [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Socialist Beginning

The man's voice broke as he spoke. The spell of Debs' eloquence was still over him and the tears burst forth afresh. And as he stood there, looking up at Debs' blue eyes, Debs simply put his arms around him and told him to think no more about it; that he had followed his conscience as much in denouncing him as he had in coming to the platform to ask forgiveness.

So great a man is Debs; so big; so fine.

Debs, in Woodstock jail, began to see the light that eventually made him a Socialist.

"Up to this time," he said, "I had heard but little of Socialism, knew practically nothing about the movement, and what little I did know was not calculated to impress me in its favor. But it was in Woodstock jail that Socialism gradually laid hold of me in its own irresistible fashion.

"Books and pamphlets from Socialists came to me by every mail and I began to dissect the anatomy of the capitalist system under which workingmen, however organized, could be shattered and battered and splintered at a single stroke.

"It was at this time, when the first glimmerings of Socialism were beginning to penetrate, that Victor L. Berger—and I have loved him ever since—came to Woodstock, as if a providential instrument, and delivered the first impassioned address on Socialism that I had ever heard. As a souvenir of that visit there is in my library a volume of 'Capital' by Karl Marx, which I cherish as a token of priceless value."

Debs' conversion to Socialism was not complete, however, when he left prison. In the campaign of 1896 he spoke and voted for Bryan.

But two years later he helped to organize the present Socialist party, and led the remnant of the old American Railway Union into it.

In 1900 he was the Socialist candidate for president, and during [illegible]

For twelve years Debs has spent all of his time either writing or speaking for the Socialist party. Between campaigns he lectures or writes for Socialist newspapers. When the American Railway Union went to pieces it left debts of $40,000. From his lecture receipts Debs has helped others to pay every dollar of this indebtedness though not a dollar of it was a legal claim against him.

The Orator

As an orator Debs stands without an equal in the United States. I say this, having heard every orator in the United States who is worth hearing. Beside him, Bryan is as the moon's beams are to sunlight. I have heard Debs speak, every ten minutes, to little crowds at stations through which his campaign trains passed; I have heard him speak in little halls, big halls, and in tremendous auditoriums in New York; but never did I hear him speak when he did not sway his audience as the wind sways the leaves of a tree—gently if he desired it, with cyclonic fury if he wished. And the whole secret of his oratory, as he himself has said, is in believing so mightily in something that the thing says itself.

"If Debs were a priest," said Eugene Field, "the world would listen to his eloquence, and that gentle, musical voice, and sad, sweet smile of his, would soften the hardest heart."

"Debs is not so much size as quality," said Horace Traubel, the literary executor of Walt Whitman. "Debs has ten hopes to your one hope. He has ten loves to your one love. You think he is a preacher of hate. He is only a preacher of man. If man is hate, then Debs is a hater. When Debs speaks a harsh word, it is wet with tears."

That is pretty nearly true, too. The sufferings of the poor cut him to the heart and when [illegible] their wrongs he voices his [illegible] and tear. But [illegible]

[illegible] those who know him. Debs [illegible] moderately. He eats as [illegible] moderately. When a public reception was given to him, upon his return to Terre Haute after the Great Northern victory, Debs did not say "I am much obliged to each of you," as [illegible] O. Jones might have said, but [illegible]:

"As a rosebud yields to the tender influence of a May shower, just so does my heart open to receive the expressions of gratitude and esteem from you, my friends and neighbors."

Debs was married in 1885 to Miss Katherine Metzel—his "Kate," as he affectionately calls her. She believes in him, idolizes him, works with him and for him. Whatever she can do to make his burden lighter she does. They have no children, so they have taken a little nephew to live with them.

Emil Seidel

Emil Seidel, the Socialist candidate for vice-president, was born in Pennsylvania forty-eight years ago. His parents were Germans. His father was a carpenter and cabinetmaker. Like Debs, he was one of a family of [illegible] and, like Debs, his schooling was cut short by poverty. Also, like Debs, he is now one of the best educated men in the country. He did not stop reading when he stopped going to school. It was only then that he really began to read.

When he was 22 years old he went to Germany for his health and remained in Berlin six years. He maintained himself by working at his trade of carving and designing, and by attending the School of Applied Arts at night, added to his stock another trade—that of patternmaking.

Seidel became a Socialist in Germany. When he returned to America in 1892 he [illegible] the two Socialist [illegible]

[illegible] that the old party [illegible] Democrats and Republicans [illegible]

Professor John Graham Brooks [illegible] University of California, after [illegible] administration at Milwaukee [illegible] in many respects, was the best [illegible] has ever had. He was [illegible] conscientious official. [illegible] the police force be used [illegible] the strikers were peaceful. [illegible] point of view that was [illegible] a mayor was not to be [illegible]

Mr. Seidel, in 1895, was married to Lucy Geissel. They have one child.

These are the two "dangerous" men at the head of the Socialist [illegible] threatening the "destruction of the [illegible]" generally inviting the bourgeoisie to [illegible] get us.

That "Undesirable Citizen"

Debs an "undesirable citizen"! [illegible] such by Roosevelt. Yet Roosevelt [illegible] life never uttered a sentiment half [illegible] this sentiment which Debs expressed [illegible] assemblage of workingmen:

"I am not a labor leader. I do not want you to follow me or anyone else. If you are looking for a Moses to lead you out of [illegible] capitalist wilderness, you will stay right where you are. I would not lead you into [illegible] land if I could, because if I could [illegible] someone else would lead you out. [illegible] use your heads as well as your hands [illegible] yourselves out of your present condition; as it is now, the capitalists use your heads and your hands."

[illegible]

[The following [illegible] of English [illegible] who favor Socialism, following the [illegible] by our American [illegible] published a few years ago, is put forth by the Clarion Club of Liverpool as "[illegible] bill No. 3." The list is not complete, omitting such well known Socialist ministers as Drs. John Clifford, J. E. Rattenbury and Canon Scott-Holland, but it serves to reveal and emphasize the fact that those who claim that Socialism leads to atheism, whether they speak from within or without the Socialist party, are guilty of inexcusable ignorance and folly.]

We, the undersigned ministers of Christian Churches of various denominations, desire to make this declaration in view of the widely circulated suggestion, which has been made in the Press and elsewhere, that the Socialism we believe in differs fundamentally from the Socialism advocated by the recognised Socialist organisations.

We declare that the Socialism we believe in (sometimes called "Christian Socialism") involves the public ownership and management of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and is therefore essentially the same Socialism as that which is held by Socialists throughout the world.

Our Socialism is not less earnest nor less complete because it is inspired by our Christianity. The central teaching of Socialism is a matter of economics, and may therefore be advocated by all men, whether they be Christians or unbelievers; yet we feel, as ministers of the Christian faith, that this economic doctrine is in perfect harmony with our faith, and we believe that its advocacy is sanctioned and indeed required of us, by the implications of our religion.

James Adderley, (Hon.) Vicar of Saltley, Birmingham.
W. J. A[illegible], Asst. Priest of St. [illegible]
[illegible]
William Busby, Rector of St. John [illegible] Norwich.
W. S. Ca[illegible], Rector of St. [illegible] chester.
R. J. Campbell, Minister of the City [illegible]
C. T. C[illegible], M.A. [illegible]
[illegible] Carroll, Vicar of [illegible]
F. W. Chambers, B.A., Asst. Curate [illegible]
Thomas C. Collings, Chaplain [illegible] Union.
J. [illegible] Cole, M.A., Vicar of [illegible]
A. T. Cowen, Rector, St. Philip [illegible]
[illegible], Vicar of [illegible]
G. Herbert Davis, [illegible]
G. A. D[illegible], Asst. Curate [illegible]
Percy Dearmer, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary [illegible] Primrose Hill.
[illegible]
Herbert Dunnico, [illegible] Church [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

Germany is a land of [illegible] to the American. It is a land [illegible] in great philosophers and [illegible] and yet it has the [illegible] the world. It is a land [illegible] thought have a wonderful [illegible] and love of truth, and yet [illegible] more narrow and prejudiced than those of any other civilized nation. It is a land which has made great progress towards [illegible] and yet a land which is ruled by the most arbitrary bureaucracy. [illegible] through the [illegible], i. e., through the centralization of p[illegible] for the economic interests of the few. In Germany Socialism is coming through the personal government, i. e., through the centralization of production for the political interests of the few. Thus the government acquired the railroads forty years ago, not for the purpose of giving the people cheaper and safer transportation, but for the purpose of being able to transport soldiers quickly and efficiently in time of war. Then again the [illegible] for old age and accident insurance which the government conducts for the benefit of the workers arose out of the fact that the Socialist labor unions were caring for their members in this way and the government wanted to block their progress. An illustration of the way in which the government uses the centralization of the means of production and distribution for its own political ends is afforded by the fact that [illegible] a large number of employes of the government [illegible] were discharged [illegible] they [illegible]. But [illegible]

[illegible]

The cars are rickety and old, [illegible] hard to make and the conductors [illegible] if you don't give them a tip. In [illegible] where the city has taken charge, the [illegible] the ride remains the same (2½ cents) [illegible] sure, but the cars are kept in perfect order, the seats are nicely upholstered, one can [illegible] any part of the city for one fare, and the conductors are models of courtesy.

But the above mentioned enterprises probably do not strike the American as so extraordinary as the entrance of municipal [illegible] into the theater. But here in Germany [illegible] a common occurrence for a city to [illegible] municipal opera house and employ a [illegible] at a fixed salary whose business it is to see that the proper plays are given. The [illegible] are then given at cost price or as nearly [illegible] price as the uncertainty of the size of the audience permits. If there is a surplus above the cost, it goes to those who earned it, the actors themselves. This insures a high class play and at the same time places it within the reach of all. Certain cities also [illegible] concert halls in which performances equal to any symphony orchestra in America [illegible] given to the people for from 10 to 25 [illegible]

In the matter of public instruction [illegible] schools, Germany is scarcely so far advanced as the United States. The public library and reading room of the average German city is, as a rule, far inferior to that of the average American city. No such fine system of civic centers and playgrounds is to be found in Germany as the city of Chicago has. On the other hand, municipal art galleries and museums are commoner and, of course, [illegible] than in the United States.

Other spheres of enterprise which [illegible] are employment agencies and [illegible] Over [illegible] per cent of the [illegible]

[illegible] they are not all.

With the recent rise in the cost of [illegible] the cities are even beginning to sell [illegible] the consumer at cost price. The cities [illegible] always had their public markets where [illegible] could sell to consumers directly [illegible] Twice a week, for instance, the city of Berlin sells [illegible] in all the markets for from ½ to [illegible] price [illegible] large number of cities have [illegible] sale of potatoes at about three-fourths [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] SOCIALIST

[illegible] Monthly, Published by

[illegible] CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING CO.

Address: 5443 Drexel Ave., Chicago

Telephone, Midway 2349

Subscription Price....................60c per year
Two yearly subs., $1.00. Five yearlies, $2.00
Five Months' Subscription, 25c.

Special Monthly Edition..............40c per year
Four S. M. E. subs. ordered at once, $1.00

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SOCIALIST PARTY CANDIDATES

For President of the United States: Eugene [illegible] Debs.

For Vice-President: Emil Seidel.

Two million votes for Debs and Seidel this fall would scare the capitalist parties into passing more genuine reform laws in the interest of the common people than would otherwise be enacted in ten years of Progressive [illegible]. When the Socialist vote rolls high in [illegible] the capitalist reformers [illegible]

MASSACHUSETTS COMRADES

The comrades of Massachusetts, especially, should circulate this issue abundantly. A million people of the Old Bay State ought to have it placed in their hands.

BRANON MOTION O. K.

Charles Edward Russell, the noted magazine writer, who is now (for the second time) Socialist candidate for governor of New York, and who, on motion of Morris Hillquit, was [illegible] by the N. E. C. to go to Branon, [illegible], and investigate the origin of the Branon motion to recall Campaign Manager [illegible], reports (in a six-page typewritten letter, too long to reproduce now) that the Branon motion is O. K. He says that Local Secretary Warburton, County Secretary Meitzen and State Secretary Green all testify that the dues of Local Branon have been kept paid up and that it was "in good and regular standing when the motion was made;" that both [illegible] and Warburton testify that Meitzen had full authority to sign the latter's name, [illegible]. We quote his conclusions word for word:

"Conclusions"

"First, inasmuch as Comrades Till Warburton and E. R. Meitzen declare absolutely that Comrade Till Warburton gave to Comrade E. [illegible] Meitzen full authority to sign the name, '[illegible] Warburton,' at the end of the original motion and comment, no charge of forgery in connection with the motion can be sustained.

"Second, in spite of irregularity in the proceedings, that elsewhere at least might raise the question of validity, there is no evidence of any fraud in connection with the motion.

"Third, I therefore report that I can find no [illegible] for 'the charges that Referendum C was [illegible] in fraud and forgery.'

"[illegible] I beg leave to add that I cannot avoid [illegible] that a little more candor and a [illegible] comradely confidence would have [illegible] this inquiry and all the expense of [illegible] that it has involved, and it is [illegible] to me that the candor and the [illegible]

[illegible] been in any way connected with this matter seems to have been honest.

(Signed)

"CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL."

Notwithstanding this illuminating report from their own committeeman, the versatile N. E. C. is out with another fierce and false attack on the Branon referendum, though at the same time the vote on the Branon recall motion, "Referendum C," is ordered to go on. Vote Yes on "Referendum C," and do it very soon.

"Talk Business." That's what our great Special on Business and Socialism does. Get a big bundle to distribute among your friends and acquaintances. See Table of Contents in another column.

Only about two months till election—get busy with our big propaganda Specials.

OUR BUSINESS CONFERENCE

By Harvey P. Moyer

They are coming!

For quite a while we have been misunderstood.

While some forsook and some forgot us, we were struggling for the life of the paper and earnestly contending, as best we could, for a higher standard of moral purity and statesmanship among the officials of the Socialist party, as well as for all America.

This, together with the usual dull summer months, has made it very hard for us financially.

We know Socialism is right, the only way to bring in the practical Kingdom of God on earth.

We know that the Christian people will accept Socialism as soon as they understand that it is a necessary corollary of their religious principles.

And they will join the Socialist party as soon as they are convinced that this party is worthy of their support.

Hence, the work of the Christian Socialist is [illegible] today; and the comrades everywhere are more and more realizing this.

The change of price has put this paper within the reach of all our comrades.

We challenge any one to show better Socialist propaganda material than our first two monthly specials. These are receiving the strongest possible testimonials, and they are going out on their mission by hundreds and thousands.

The Christian world has never been so eager for the truth on social questions.

We must take advantage of this world-wide search for the remedy of our social wrongs, and direct it into the true way of social righteousness through Socialism.

Our plans for the Christian Socialist and for effective work along this line must be carried out as never before.

We are ready for greater things. We only lack your help!

Remember our three aims:

1. Fifty thousand subscribers to the Christian Socialist this year.

2. A yearly subscription to the monthly special to every minister, priest, and Y. M. C. A. secretary in the United States and Canada.

3. A yearly Christian Socialist Sustaining Fund of $6,000 ($500 per month).

With united effort this can easily be done.

To reach the first goal, we need only five hundred earnest comrades who will each secure five subscriptions per month ($2.00—only 50c per week).

To reach the second goal, we need just one hustling comrade in every town and locality in the United States and Canada.

To reach the third goal, we need only fifty loyal comrades who will either give or secure for us $10.00 each per month, and the fund will be raised that will enable us to do wonderful things in publishing and distributing the best possible Christian Socialist propaganda literature.

Comrades, will you not see that one active comrade is appointed in your local to [illegible]

[illegible] If our atheistic comrades [illegible] in using our literature to [illegible] Christian friends to Socialism (and some of our best workers are atheists) surely the Christian comrades ought to get down to their best work and help hasten the coming of God's kingdom on earth with all that this means of happiness and joy to the whole world.

We are glad to report that the comrades are coming to the help of the paper. Our appeal for subscriptions to the sustaining fund has been answered by pledges of $[illegible] per month. We need a sustaining fund of $500.00 per month, and hope you will do your part towards it. This would enable us to give you a better paper and to print a number of helpful books that are now at our disposal.

If the Christian people would give only half as much to Christian Socialist propaganda work as they give to the church and other good enterprises, we could establish Socialism within the next ten years.

Can you possibly make a better investment?

Will you not begin today to help us do the large things we are capable of doing and which the cause of social righteousness demands?

How many will sign one or more of the pledges below and return with your remittance this week?

* * *

PLEDGE NO. 1

....

To the Christian Socialist,
5445 Drexel Ave., Chicago.

Dear Comrades—I hereby pledge myself to secure five subscribers per month ($2.00) for the Christian Socialist until we have secured 50,000 subscribers, beginning ....

....

....

* * *

PLEDGE NO. 2

....

To the Christian Socialist,
[illegible]

Dear Comrades—To enable you to do the greatest possible amount of propaganda work through the Christian Socialist and other Christian Socialist literature, I hereby pledge to pay Ten Dollars ($10.00) per month, or agree to secure this amount for you towards a sustaining fund of $500.00 per month, and I will send this amount monthly, as long as it is possible for me to do so.

....

....

Poet—I called to see if you had an opening for me.
Editor—Yes, there's one right behind you; shut it as you go out, please.—Satire.

Now or Never for this campaign. About two months left to work before election. Have you passed copies of our two big campaign specials to your neighbors and the church people of your community? Do it NOW!

Ten short-term subs for $1.00—See remarkable offer in another column.

CHARITY

From "Is This, Our World," by Charlotte Perkins Stetson

Came two young children to their mother's shelf,
(One was quite little and the other big),
And each in freedom calmly helped himself.
(One was a pig.)

The food was free and plenty for them both,
But one was rather dull and very small;
So the big, smarter brother, nothing loath,
He took it all.

At which the little fellow raised a yell,
Which tired the other's more aesthetic ears;
He gave him, here a crust, and there a shell,
To stop his tears.

He gave with pride, in manner calm and bland,
Finding the other's hunger a delight;
He gave with pity—his full big hand
Hid from his sight.

[illegible] OF JESUS

By REV. ROLAND D. SAWYER

[illegible] Congregational Church, and Candidate for Governor of Massachusetts on the Socialist Ticket

[illegible]

CHAPTER I

Background of His Thought—The Social Teachings of Moses and the Prophets

No one any longer thinks of Jesus as a ready-made God, angel or man, sent down from heaven. We now know that he grew [illegible] as other men grow, acted upon by forces that bent upon his life. He had individual peculiarities whereby he [illegible] from other men, chief among such was his intense religious nature, which enabled him to see farther into religious things than any man before or since has been able. [illegible]

[illegible]

From God within thy soul,
And the hardness of thy life,
We see the page unroll.

There was "the God within his soul," and there was the religious instruction of his mother, a sincerely devout religious girl. There was also the influence of the simple faith of the people of Galilee. These had a part in shaping his religious nature. And then again Jesus was a poet. "The Poet of Galilee," Prof. Leonard calls him in his little book, and better still, has the essentially poetic character of his soul been pointed out by Edwin Markham in his recent Forum article. And as a poet he drank deeply from nature, the birds and flowers, the trees and the hills and fields, all the beautiful [illegible] God's green earth spoke great things to his soul. To such a serious minded, sensitive soul as that of Jesus, the harsh political and economic conditions of himself and fellow countrymen would cause pain, and he would very naturally turn to the literature of his people to see what it said about it.

And so we cannot well take up a study of what the mind of Jesus was in its matured attitude toward social conditions, with [illegible] thorough understanding, till we look into the literature of Moses and the prophets which he himself had, and from which he [illegible] much of his own conception. One would think this would be an excursion along a familiar road, but sad to say, it is not. Scholars and ecclesiastics have split hairs [illegible] to decide the date when [illegible] were penned, and have searched the literature to find out about its [illegible] conception of God [illegible] very little attention has been given to the social and economic teachings of [illegible]. When I [illegible]

[illegible] movement was not primarily a religious movement having to do with the next world and a heavenly kingdom, but it was a great struggle for social betterment here on the earth.

The Honor of Labor

The economic direction of Moses' thought is first seen in the honor placed upon toil. Plato's republic and Aristotle's politics look upon work with contempt, but the theocracy of Moses gives it place of honor. The introduction to his legislation is a narrative of the manual activities of his ancestors; Abraham was a herdsman, Isaac a farmer, Jacob a hired man, and he tries even to claim that Joseph worked for Potipher, which is a far reach, for Joseph was really a schemer, an ancient Rockefeller. And this same spirit of honor to labor runs through the history of Israel. Samuel did chores, Saul farmed it, and best of all, the prophets themselves were workers. The book of Proverbs speaks of the ideal woman as one who works with her hands, and the Psalmist describes the good man as he who eats the labor of his own hands.

Legislation for Labor.

This honor given to toil found its concrete expression in legislation to protect the toiler. Though there was a form of slavery allowed it was mild and restricted compared with other nations. No Hebrew could be enslaved for more than seven years, and child slavery was prohibited. Now it meant a good deal for the little Hebrew nation to [illegible] 600 years before such as Aristotle was [illegible]

[illegible] years, Moses was protecting [illegible] slavery that this Hebrew nation prohibited.

Laws to Protect the Poor

There was no nation in ancient times, there is none today, that has made provision for the poor, as did the Hebrews. The farmer must leave some of his crop unharvested for them (Lev. 14:9; Deut. 24:19). The gleanings of all fruits and vintage went to them (Deut. 24:20-21). The prophets speak of kindness and charity to the poor as a great virtue, and ill-treatment and harshness a glaring sin. But these charitable provisions were only a last resort, the direct economic legislation was aimed to make all independent, so that there should be no poor. This legislation is specific on the four great matters of land, tools, interest and debt.

Land Laws

The land had been given to all by Jehovah. It could not be usurped by man, and every fifty years it must be redistributed (Lev. 25:10). A "dividing up" every fifty years, a thought that strikes such horror to the good followers of Moses and Jesus nowadays.

The land therefore was not sold (Lev. 25:1-23), only its use was sold, and that only till the jubilee year of division. If the jubilee year was forty-five years away it could be sold for forty-five years; if only ten years away, only for ten years. And at any time after sale, if the person selling had need of it and could secure money to redeem it, he could do so at any time (Lev. 25:25-26, Deut. 22:[illegible], II Chron. 7:20, Joel 3:2).

Tools of Labor

A laboring man pressed by creditors can today go into court and take the poor debtor's oath, which is to the effect that he has no wealth beyond his tools of labor, and they cannot be touched. This dates from the old English common law that the tools of the [illegible]

[illegible] pledge, for he taketh a man's life" (Deut. 24:6). And it is the same principle that is at the bottom of the Socialists' demand for social ownership of the means of production and distribution. The Socialist sees, that which the sense of [illegible] has long seen, that who controls the tools by which a man lives, controls his life; and seeing that these tools are a great complex machinery, social by nature, it demands that society own and operate them for all men. Who takes away the tools by which the mass of men get their living, takes away their very lives.

Laws Governing Debt

The laws governing debt were stringent and advanced. A creditor could not demand interest, could not take a man's tools of labor as security for a loan, and every seven years the debt was outlawed and must be released. What a step ahead this was, when all around the Hebrew nation men were being sold into slavery for debt.

The Matter of Interest.

Interest taking was prohibited by Moses, for to his mind it was profiting from a poor man in his adversity. It is true, that among the Phoenicians who were the traders and speculators, Moses permitted interest to be taken (Deut. 23:19-20); he seems to have felt that the loaner who shared in the risk and helped in the venture, was entitled to share in the profits. But to charge interest on a loan, lent to a friend, a neighbor, a fellow citizen, was a thing grievously wicked and is condemned in almost every book in the Hebrew Scriptures (Ex. 22:25, Deut. 23:19, Lev. 25:37-39). Ezekiel classes it with idolatry, murder and bloodshed (Ezek. 18:12). The book of Proverbs says it turns God's blessing into a curse (28:8-10). The Psalmist says, "He who takes interest shall not sojourn in God's Tabernacle" (15:5).

The [illegible] Year

These laws, proposed by Moses, [illegible]

[illegible] generally obeyed, and is it any wonder that this nation of the working class became a prosperous, free and happy people.

Statesmanship of This Legislation

The legislation of this working class republic was the most statesmanlike the world has ever seen.

First, it avoided the extremes of poverty and wealth; under it there could be no accumulation of large estates, no growth of a privileged class, with its attending pauperized masses.

Second, it secured for Palestine the establishment of an industrial, agricultural population and prevented the waste of land and resources.

Third, it made every man a proprietor, a true patriot, interested in his own country.

Fourth, it was an ample and just division—25,000,000 acres among 600,000 families, giving 42 acres to every family, considerably ahead of ancient Rome's seven acres to a citizen, or the three acres and liberty which [illegible] ton Hall says is now necessary.

Fifth, there was a provision for the future and for further division as population increased.

Now this was the foundation social theory of the Hebrew nation. It is the [illegible] of all the Old Testament writers, historic or poetic, like Job and the Psalmist, but most of all was it the view and the [illegible] of the prophets. These men were, as [illegible] well says, "A line of agitators for social and civic betterment." They were the voices crying for a nation to keep true to these laws. Their writings are [illegible] against oppression, injustice and bad social conditions. They were against [illegible] from social justice, and they [illegible] appeal for a better social order. Is it any wonder that [illegible]

[illegible] would overlook or fail to be touched by the great social and economic thought [illegible] at work among his people. And we should know, if not a word had been preserved to us, that Jesus with his insight and fearlessness, must have had clear, brave and definite words to say on the matter of the social order. To find out from the records preserved what those words were will be the purpose of following chapters.

* * *

CHAPTER II
THE SOCIAL MESSAGE OF JESUS

Jesus wrote nothing save a sentence in the sand. What we know of his mind comes to us through two sources, the writings of his followers and disciples, and their customs and habits as they put into practice what he had taught them. In these writings of his disciples we find Jesus taking a stand for the economic laws of Moses, declaring that he came as did the prophets demanding fulfillment, and that not one yod or tittle should be abolished. And on that foundation he became a crusader for economic justice. He is represented as having a double message. He called on men to forsake shams and ceremonies and truly love God, and just as strongly he called upon them to forsake injustice and love one another. His message was half religious, half social. Of all the great figures of the ancient world Jesus was the first to arise for the toilers and against the aristocracy, as such. He was the first class-conscious teacher. He saw the ruling classes about him as mere bullies, while his brothers were slaves, and he took sides with the slaves. He saw no justice in one class feeding on the toil of another. From each according to his capacity, to each according to his need, was an underlying principle in all his teachings.

Look, for instance, at his teachings in Matt. 20:1-14, as to the reward for labor. [illegible] When the Socialist [illegible] and here [illegible] teachings taught: Agreeable work for all; sufficient and adequate wage for all; equal wages for all.

Now Socialists are not yet decided as to the reward of labor in the coming Socialist society, they divide in their theories as to whether it shall be according to need, or according to service. Jesus was more radical than most modern Socialists; he cuts the knot at once, and would have all do what they can and share alike. This teaching was literally carried out by his early followers. In the written records there are three books that stand out above the others as giving us Jesus' social message; they are Luke's gospel, his book of Acts, and James' epistle. In them Jesus stands out above all else as the forerunner of the protesters against economic injustice. Luke was a Greek; he was divorced from Jewish narrowness; like Paul, he had a larger culture and experience than the rest; he was a sort of ancient Tolstoy, apparently renouncing a well-to-do living for a lot with Jesus' followers; he is the Socialist-evangelist. It is Luke that records some of the clearest teachings of Jesus of a class-conscious character. Luke's version of the sermon on the mount sets it forth as a class-conscious arraignment of the rich that would do justice to the most bitter modern Socialist (see Luke 6:20-38). It is Luke also who records the great picture of Dives and Lazarus (16:20): The Foolish Rich Man (12:16-22); Unjust Steward (16:1-13); Divided Inheritance (12:13); Empty Handed Rich (1:53). This aspect of Jesus' message as given by Luke is quickly seen when we compare some of his statements with those of Matthew. For instance, where Matthew says, "Give to him that asks," Luke says, "Give to everyone." Matthew says, "Sell that thou hast and give to the poor;" Luke says "Sell all thou hast, etc."

Matthew says, "Blessed are the poor;" Luke adds, "And woe to the rich." It is Luke who tells us of the birth of Jesus in the cattle [illegible] of the poverty of his parents, of Mary's [illegible]

[illegible] their way. [illegible] drew. James and John to follow Jesus [illegible] tells us they left all. Where Matthew tells us to love enemies and pray for them, Luke says "Love your enemies and lend to them." Where Mark permits the disciples to take a staff, Luke forbids it. The gospel of John is written to maintain the divinity of Jesus. Mark reflects the naked Petrine facts of Jesus' life and teachings. Matthew wrote to show him to have been the Jewish Messiah. But Luke, the renouncing Greek, wrote to his rich patron, Theophilus, and tells Jesus' attitude toward the poor and property. And anyone who will read this book, which Renan called the "most beautiful book in the world," will quickly come to see that Jesus had a social message, one that was fearless and burning. Or take the book of James, it is a book that fairly blazes with economic protest, and is as class-conscious as a modern Socialist document: "Go to, now, ye rich men, weep and howl, for your miseries are coming upon you." "Behold the hire of the laborers who mowed your fields which ye have kept back by fraud, it crys out, and the cry has entered the ears of Jahveh. Hear you who live delicately on the earth and take your pleasure." When we read such words, and then pause to think that James was a brother of Jesus, and probably best understood what burned in Jesus' mind, we can come to see how large in that mind was the social message. The recorded facts of Jesus' life fit the recorded teachings. He was a social reformer; yes, he was more; he was a social revolutionist; his disciples were accused of seeking to turn things upside down. He did not teach that the poor should be patient and wait for better things in heaven, he did not suggest that the rich should give charity to the poor, but he set his face firmly against the whole social system of his day [illegible] brands and [illegible] outcasts, and he gloried in it; he said the rich man would lift up his eyes in hell while the beggar would go to the abode of the blessed. He called the crafty capitalist a fool (Luke 12:16). He drove the traders from the temple, he shared poverty with the poor, but not with dumb patience; he taught them even as he ate that the bitterness of injustice was in that bread. Jesus sounded the note of democracy; and that note as it affects religion, virtue, education and political life we have come to accept; and it is bound soon to be followed by an industrial and economic democracy.

The book of Acts (and other early fragmentary literature) proves the proletarian character of the early Christian movement. In this book of Acts we find that they had all things in common in matters of property. And this must have lasted some time, for Tertullian writing 160 years later says: "Everything is common with us save women." One of the early churches was at the Home of Simon the tanner, the president of a labor guild, or labor union. All the evidence we get shows to us that the early Christians understood Jesus to teach a social message, a message of communism, and that they followed it. And even when captured by the state it was slow to outgrow it, for those early big preachers said some harsh things about the rich. "The rich are robbers," said Chrysostom. "The rich man is a thief," said Basil. "Opulence is always the product of theft," said Jerome. "If not committed by the actual possessor then by his ancestors." "In strict justice, everything should belong to all, iniquity has created private property," said Clement. "The soil was given to rich and poor in common; why do the rich claim it?" asks Ambrose. Augustine declares that wealth originated in usurpation. "It is thus impossible for the [illegible]

[illegible] by their followers [illegible] form of society (Kingdom of [illegible] other matters will come [illegible] taught them to pray, "Give us [illegible] day and abolish our debts," and [illegible] appealed mightily to the poor [illegible] and indebted. And such a prayer was always unanswered, for the [illegible] sometimes in case of war prior debts [illegible] be cancelled.

To look further into the social [illegible] Jesus and find what he has to say [illegible] great institutions of the state, [illegible] property will be the purpose of [illegible] chapter.

* * *

CHAPTER III
JESUS AND THE STATE

"Jesus and the great Hebrew prophets [illegible] their splendid dreams of the future and fierce invective took possession of [illegible] believed political power was for [illegible] that governments were simply [illegible] undoing the people; that taxation was robbery; that the rich were a selfish class [illegible] of pity, and whose amusement was [illegible]."—Elbert Hubbard in "The Man [illegible]."

Jesus of Nazareth was born in the [illegible] Rome 750. We have four gospels [illegible] which at least are [illegible] vivid [illegible] narratives of his life and teaching [illegible] records come before us worthy of [illegible] dence in their historic [illegible] the severest and most searching [illegible] would at this time bench them [illegible] any other testimony we may [illegible] teachings of Jesus toward the [illegible] the great theme of all Jesus' public [illegible] was "The Kingdom." What did he [illegible] it. He seems to have had a [illegible]

[illegible] a system of society, [illegible] together in harmony, a state of love [illegible] organization.

Now let us look a little more fully at [illegible] ideal social system, what it is to be [illegible] were to compose it.

1. This kingdom was for the [illegible] manner and life; the childlike, the [illegible] guileless common people of the earth.

2. It was for the poor. When John [illegible] an embassy to Jesus asking if he were the Messiah, Jesus sent back as the proof, the fact that his gospel was [illegible] poor. Nor did Jesus make any distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor; the "worthy" and "unworthy" [illegible] modern charity [illegible] recognized that poverty is always a [illegible] time, never a fault; he knew no one [illegible] poor if he could help it.

3. This kingdom was for all [illegible] men who would come into it; no one [illegible] cluded. Social failures, like [illegible] publicans, pagans from Tyre and [illegible] men of Samaria, Sabbath breakers, [illegible] cast forth by the prevailing society, [illegible] to be welcomed in Jesus' new society. [illegible] records for us one of the [illegible] Jesus was urgent that all should come [illegible] new society (Luke 14:16-24); [illegible] Jesus urging all, the maimed, the [illegible] lame and wretched to come [illegible] here he points out the only ones [illegible] cluded; the worshippers of Mammon [illegible] into two classes, and the [illegible] anti-social people.

The first who would not come [illegible] society were the landlords; those [illegible] a piece of ground and must [illegible] rent and evicting [illegible] his kingdom. [illegible]

[illegible] the English poet, sings:

[illegible] the din of wars and strife of men,
[illegible]
[illegible] earth shall ring with [illegible] note
[illegible] the world to victory.
[illegible] a distant heaven Jesus dreamed,
[illegible] of this bounteous earth on which we dwell
Made doubly bounteous by sweet peace and love.
[illegible] is our highest needs our dreams,
[illegible] one wide brotherhood from pole to pole."

Now what bearing does this idea of the [illegible] have on Jesus' conception of the [illegible]?

1. It means the abolition of all class distinctions, race, creed, color, rank, sex and [illegible]; that all are to be brothers and sisters.

2. It means the abolition of force. Jesus' idea of the kingdom would abolish the State [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] have [illegible] the word anarchist. [illegible] is not inconsistent with [illegible] but only with enforced association. Anarchists do not [illegible] against order; only against order by law. Anarchy is liberty, according to its advocates, only when individuals are left free, and compulsion disappears, only then will the bonds of society be moral bonds. And this same ideal has been that of the great thinkers, ancient and modern. Emerson said: "When the wise man comes the state will disappear." Marx and Bebel have both said that when society is industrially and economically organized the state will disappear. Channing said: "In heaven nothing like what we call the state will exist." Even old Augustine could defend the state only on the ground that it was made necessary by the 'Fall.'" Huxley tells us that "Strict anarchy will be the highest conceivable grade of perfection of social existence. When men spontaneously do justly and love mercy, will the ploughshares be beaten into spades, and the police and judges find their work gone." We Socialists see with Marx that that time will come with the economic organization of society. That our present forms of property are anti-fraternal, and that when society administers its economic matters on a fraternal basis, then fraternalism will follow in habits and custom. Jesus certainly saw this same thing. He had apparently no carefully worked out economic interpretation of history, but he felt intuitively as poets always feel, that the prevailing forms of living were unbrotherly, and he taught communism.

Following this teaching, we find the Epistle of Barnabas saying, "Thou shalt communicate all things with thy neighbor and not call them thine own property; for if you are partakers in that which is [illegible]

[illegible] collective property," says Cyprian. And thus we could go on to quote from the fathers. An old tradition tells us that Domitian, the Roman Emperor, heard that some of Jesus' descendants were living in his day and he sent for them. They were the grandsons of Jude, the brother of Jesus. They testified to Domitian that they were toilers and communists, and the emperor dismissed them as idle dreamers. The phrase the churches today use so much, "The communion of saints," originally referred to the communism of saints. Truly Laveleye is right when he says, "If Christianity were accepted as taught by its founder the existing social order could not exist for a day." And this was recognized by all the earlier social reformers. Monastic orders through the middle ages [illegible] the communistic teaching of Jesus. The [illegible] of Germany revived it following the reformation, as is seen among the anabaptists, the forerunners of Quakers and Unitarians. The Utopia of More, the New Atlantis of Bacon, the New Christianity of St. Simon, Fourier and Louis Blanc, all of these Utopian Socialists called upon the witness of Jesus' teachings. [illegible]

There are but [illegible]

First, they can [illegible] that [illegible] were the [illegible] an idealist, and incapable of moral [illegible], though this is strangely inconsistent with [illegible] high claims for wisdom and divinity [illegible] make for Jesus.

Secondly, they can do as Tolstoy did, renounce the state and property, and [illegible] live literally the commands of Jesus.

Or, thirdly, they can come with us Socialists, who, following Marx, Engels and [illegible], see that the scientific attainment of the ideal of Jesus is now a possibility. That with the collective organization of the means of production and distribution, there will come in the reign of economic justice, and that the present harsh, cruel state of persecution and class distinctions will forever disappear. I have no doubt that were Jesus alive today he would see this as we see it, and become one of us.

* * *

CHAPTER IV
JESUS AND THE FAMILY

All people of intelligence know today that the family did not begin with a divinely wedded pair in the Garden of Eden, but that it is an institution that has grown out of the experience of the race in its long struggle for existence. Promiscuity, polyandry and polygamy all preceded the patriarchal condition of the time of Abraham, the first [illegible] of Jesus' people. Then had come [illegible] polygamy and monogamy side by side in Solomon's day; a condition wherein the poorer had to be content with one wife, while the richer had as many as he chose. This system was not all gone in the time of Jesus, though monogamy was practically triumphant in Palestine. Now what was Jesus' attitude toward the family and the marriage [illegible]? [illegible] Jesus knew all about it; the [illegible] was a part of his [illegible]

[illegible] evidently never thought of a home of his own, for his last thought on the cross was for his mother, apparently showing his sense of responsibility for her. He grew up with this burden upon his shoulders, and never even left it to take up his public work till the other children were old enough to shift for themselves. [illegible] made wine at the wedding feast; [illegible] his dearest spot in the tranquility and peace of the Bethany home; he was no advocate of celibacy. His regard for the family institution was high, he saw that the family [illegible] that it [illegible] with altruism, developed the instincts of natural and forgiving love. If the care of his family at first kept him from thinking of [illegible] the great feeling that he was to be the Jewish Messiah, [illegible]

[illegible] the Christian ideal of a home [illegible] in a Pagan order of society, and [illegible] thing the home needs most of all [illegible] the passing of theological dogmas and [illegible], but the relief of intolerable economic pressure. And again, Jesus felt deeply [illegible] injustice toward women in the family relation. Women were the best friends Jesus [illegible] had; they ministered to him, helped him, [illegible] him, admired him. And he was very [illegible] in all his treatment of women; he knew [illegible] with the workers they shared the common lot of oppression. Jesus spoke out several times against the prevailing custom of [illegible] divorcing their wives, and his teachings summarized seem to teach these things: [illegible], the equality of the sexes; second, that [illegible] and women should marry;—matrimony [illegible] the sexes; the sex relation is not [illegible] or an immoral relation, but a necessary and natural thing; third, that the woman's [illegible] in all contracts should be equal with the man. On the abstract question of divorce, [illegible] present discussed, Jesus never said anything, though the ritualistic church claims that it has a divine prohibition from him against it. The question that existed between the two schools of Shammai and Hillel was [illegible] him. That question was as to whether [illegible] could divorce his wife and send her away for almost any cause, like bad cooking, etc., or as to whether she could only be divorced when unfaithful in the monogamic [illegible] relation. Jesus decided for the rights of woman, as we would expect him to do, and [illegible] a wife could only be dismissed for the [illegible] of adultery; but beyond this we have no teaching of his to guide us as to what his [illegible] of the divorce question of today would be.

Of the great social institutions Jesus seems to have said and thought less about the family than about the others. He accepted it as a good thing, and one that would be all right when the state and economic order ceased to oppress it. And probably most far-seeing men and women will agree with him [illegible] and will say as he seemed to have [illegible] the institutions of the state and [illegible] enlightened [illegible] the family will take care of itself.

* * *

CHAPTER V

JESUS AND PROPERTY

Property is the youngest of the great institutions of the human race, but its existence has utterly transformed all older institutions.

In regard to it, various positions have been, and are held, in the thought of men.

1. There is the conventional, property view; the egoistic anarchy of Nietsche, Rockefeller, Morgan, Carnegie—the view that might makes right, that wealth is to be gotten, never mind how. We live under the sway of this theory; our civilization is a property civilization, and the apex has been found here in America. This apex was mildly criticised by Ian McLaren a few years back, when he said: "I find America a place of coarse and unlettered men, whose souls have never been touched by religion or culture, but who bow the knee to the Golden Calf. The dollar is the monotonous refrain in conversation, and to gain it illegally or unscrupulously is never questioned." Such is indeed the summit of property civilization.

2. Then there is the mendicant view; the [illegible] protest of zealous idealistic souls, who have ever contended that property is a necessary evil and only the poor can be saved. This was the view of the Ebionites of Jesus' day, and of the mendicant friars of the middle ages.

3. Then there is the milk-and-water reform view of the "Stewardship of property," as advocated by mild religious reformers of today. They say wealth belongs to God, and that the possessors are trustees. To which we can only say that in the big property-holders of today like Morgan, Rockefeller and Carnegie, God or somebody has got a raw deal in the choice of trustees.

4. Then we have the communistic view, [illegible] property is wrong, that all things [illegible] owned in common, that each should [illegible]

[illegible] classes, one of which is [illegible] and the other necessarily private. [illegible] that a proper organization of society along this line will give us an approximate equality of property and economic justice.

Now where would Jesus stand were he alive today? Where did he stand when on the earth? Because his teachings are not systematized but are fragmentary, it has been possible for all these various schools to claim his approval. Renan said Jesus was an Ebionite and held the mendicant view, and Nitti seems to lean that way. The Communists of the middle ages, or the Russian Doukhobors, communists of today, all claim to be following the teaching of Jesus. A German Socialist leader claims that Jesus would be a Socialist today were he alive, and points to such teachings of his as "Lend and receive no interest," and his endorsing Moses' laws prohibiting the ownership of tools of labor by any other than the laborer, as evidence for the assertion.

And, of course, the saintly, multi-millionaire pillars of the ruling order claim the sanction of Jesus, as do the milk-and-water advocates of the "stewardship of wealth." To get at the real teaching of Jesus, we must not follow the proof-text method of snatching up a statement here or there, but we must put all together, and seek to ascertain his habitual attitude, the concensus of his teachings. Summing up the scattered instructions, weighing and comparing his various teachings, we are able to reproduce at least the general direction of Jesus' mind. And the thing that most astounds us as we do this is what must have been his exhaustive treatment of the matter. Jesus was certainly most profoundly interested in property matters and any attempt on the part of religious teachers to deny this must be the perversion of truth for fear of offending property interests. A good illustration of this is seen in the latest and most authoritative Bible dictionary, that of Hastings. This [illegible] been greatly boomed; it represents thousands of dollars, and the editorial [illegible] sion of "Money," nineteen of the paragraphs, nearly all of the twentieth, are taken up by a discussion of coinage, etc., while just nine lines are given to the teaching of Jesus in regard to the use and perils of wealth.

Jesus was born of a peasant woman; he grew up and associated with the poverty of the peasant class, and this at a time when there was a bitter class feeling between rich and poor; and if no word of Jesus in regard to property had been recorded for us, we know he could not have escaped some treatment of the matter. But as a matter of fact we are not left to surmises; from Jesus' first appearance as a public teacher, when he announced that Jahveh had anointed him to preach to the poor, he continually and persistently called about himself the poor and lowly, cast his lot with them, was class-consciously one of them, and preached ideas on property that meant their deliverance. I sum up these teachings under the three divisions: (1) his ideas as to the possession of property, (2) his ideas as to acquiring property, (3) his ideas as to the use of property.

1. As to the possession of property. Jesus taught the communistic life; the early Christians were a commune. But the communism of Jesus seems to have been limited to the common sharing in the fruit of toil, a common sharing of income. Jesus seems to have condemned private property, only when it was used to exploit, or selfishly hoarded while others were in need. Thus the rich young man was ordered to sell all and distribute among the poor, but his disciples still kept their boats and fishing tackle; Peter remained a householder; Zacheus restored only half of his goods; Joanna retained her means; his friends at Bethany were never ordered to give up their comfortable home.

From these things it would seem that Jesus recognized a man's right to property needed for his personal comfort and life, or used in service. His communism seems to have been quite largely a communism of utility rather than ideal. Because he saw that [illegible]

[illegible] family. The family [illegible] and ideal, but he does not seem to [illegible] thinking about the prohibition of private property in the family, as he was of the equality and fraternity of life that comes out of the mutual share in the common labor of the family.

Take the well-known case of the "Feeding of the five thousand." It is a fine illustration of Jesus' teaching of the possibilities of a loving family communism. This incident is recorded in all four gospels (Matt. 14:13-21; Mark, 6:32-44; Luke, 9:10-17; John, 6:1-13), and has ever been considered by the church as an evidence of the miracle working power of Jesus. But nowhere is it claimed in the account as a miracle, and the accounts would seem to indicate as their most natural historic basis, the simple fact that Jesus drew together a great crowd to hear him.

Mealtime came, and many were unprepared; but Jesus at once carried out his teachings of communism, and calling upon the multitude to be seated in groups, he took the little that his own disciples had brought, blessed God for it, and began to distribute it among his neighbors rather than sitting down with the twelve to enjoy it. Following his teaching and practical example the rest who had brought lunch did likewise, with the result that none were hungry; all ate, and twelve baskets of scraps were gathered by the apostles (one each) to take along on their journey.

So far as I can see, Jesus was seeking the ideal of modern Socialism to bring in an equality and fraternity in sharing in the common labor and income of the race. In a world of competition, where property cannot be owned without exciting envy, vulgarity and class feeling, nor can be secured without oppression and injustice, of course, Jesus declared against it.

But could there come in such an age as Socialism contemplates, [illegible] munism was that of utility, rather than of the ideal or abstract rights, and following along the principles he laid down it appears that he would thoroughly agree with modern Socialism.

2. As to the accumulation of property, Jesus laid down three great laws. First, was the prohibition of interest. Ecclesiastical translators have softened things up a bit for modern business by substituting the word "usury" for "interest" in the Bible. But the Old Testament prohibits the taking of interest, its writers extol the man who takes no interest, and Jesus endorsed this position and emphatically enjoined upon his followers to lend hoping for no interest. That the Hebrew religion, that Christianity, that Mohammedanism, all prohibited the taking of interest is an historic fact, and political economists point out that the enforcement of this rule for 1,500 years kept large fortunes from accumulating. The laws of Hammurabi show that interest taking was a practice long before Moses, and that the legislation of Moses, the prophets and Jesus, was a direct prohibition of the practice. Secondly, Jesus in common with the older Hebrews, forbade one man owning the tools with which another did his work. They saw, as we Socialists see, that the tools with which a worker does his work are his very life. And accordingly Jesus ordered that they should not be taken for a pledge or in any way withheld from the laborer. Thirdly, Jesus commanded strict adherence to justice in dealing with one another. Full measure, weight [illegible] wages, no cheating, beating nor defrauding, but downright and upright honesty he insisted upon. Fourth, Jesus, in common with the older Hebrews, believed that the earth was Jahveh's.

Private ownership of land was wrong; a man could possess as much as he could use and improve, but no more. To Jesus [illegible] the earth, like the air and water [illegible] given as common [illegible]

[illegible] should re- [illegible] to the last day.

[illegible] about giving, that it [illegible]. A second [illegible] use of property was to use it in [illegible] for the advancement of human [illegible] shall not live by bread alone; [illegible] of wealth in education, music, art, to [illegible] the resources of Nature to humanity; this [illegible] a use of wealth of a higher order than [illegible] to the poor. Third, Jesus taught [illegible] in money matters. He saw money [illegible] representative of property, he saw it the [illegible] of exchange, and he demanded fidelity [illegible] handling it.

To give alms, or build schoolhouses would [illegible] nothing if one were dishonest.

This is a summary of Jesus' position of the questions of property, wealth, money. They had to do with a condition of society as it was 2000 years ago. It is impossible for the most enthusiastic to say that they are in any way definite rules that we should follow today, and yet the most indifferent must admit that the great underlying ideals of Jesus were strangely far-sighted and wise. And also they were strangely like the Socialist ideals of today; so much so that the Socialists can well claim that were Jesus here today he would be one of us. In doing this we do claim that Jesus in his prohibitions meant always the same thing as do we. For instance, in his denial of interest taking it must be admitted that he was simply following the Hebrew law which prohibited the taking of interest from a fellow citizen in distress, but which did permit it with the Phoenicians, the traders of their day. For in sharing in their speculations and risks the Jews held they might also share in their profits. And as for [illegible] the ownership of the tools of the [illegible] Jesus' idea was much [illegible] It was more [illegible] than it was to [illegible] the private ownership of railroads and factories. So we make no attempt to claim that a study of Jesus' ideas on property, shows him to have been a Socialist in the modern sense. Nor do we claim for a minute, that we find there definite utterances on modern social problems. But we do claim, that this study shows that Jesus was very far-sighted and bold in seeing the evils of property civilization, and in crying out for something different; and that the workings of his mind were such, and were so far in our direction, that we may safely say that were Jesus alive today he would be with us in the thick of the battle for economic justice.

And his professed followers if they are to truly represent him, must come with us, and help remake the world along economic lines.

* * *

CHAPTER VI.
INCIDENTAL TEACHINGS OF SOCIAL IMPORT

In addition to his direct teachings on the great social institutions, Jesus' outlook on life and his doctrines arising out of it were such that he taught many things that have great social value. By practice and precept he taught all the olden Hebrew honor of manual toil. He taught the dignity of humanity; man was ever of more value than a sheep; and how bitterly he hated and spoke against that hypocritical society that would save a sheep's life on a Sabbath but would allow a man to perish. He felt to the quick the problem of the [illegible]; he felt for their misery; and appreciated to some extent the social cause of sickness. He had great faith in human nature, he saw that all that was needed to reclaim an outcast was to give him a chance; and he fretted over the waste of human life, worthlessness and beggary. [illegible]

[illegible] higher teaching which [illegible] war-cleanness and freedom from drunkenness, with oftentimes a soft pedal on these. The early church that sprang up on Jesus' teaching was an institution that was very broad; it dispensed charity, buried the dead, housed the living, and was above all else, a great attempt to realize democracy. The early church was a social movement, creating social unrest and making for agitation. It was a living protest against the awful social pressure from above, upon the lower classes. It made men resist the state; refuse to bear arms. The organizations that sprang up about the life and teachings of Jesus were honey-combed with political and seditious teachings. Victor Hugo, looking back and seeing the Galilean carpenter hanging on the Roman instrument of torture, said: "There was planted the tree of liberty in that cross in Golgotha." All of these things that spring out of the life of the Carpenter of Nazareth must be taken into account when we seek out the contribution he made to the social thought and progress of the world. For all of these things had influence to help man unshackle his fettered legs, loosen his bound arms, and to stand erect and fight for a freer, social atmosphere.

Jesus was one of the great lights that has shone in men's faces, and helped them to see themselves and one another; to see what they need, what they want, what they must battle for. And so I am convinced that the man seeking to understand the facts and forces that have moved man on in the making of his great social life will pass over an important factor if he passes over Jesus of Nazareth. For I firmly believe that out of his life and teachings has arisen not only a great force in the moulding of social life, but a great force for good, and therefore eternal. Moses in his laws, Numa, Solon, Gaius, all con- [illegible] Plato in his [illegible] but Jesus, the [illegible] of Nazareth, gathered about himself a body of workingmen that Plato and Cicero would not have admitted to citizenship, and he dared teach to them that they had rights. He threw in his lot with theirs, sought to arouse them to solidarity, and endeavored to make them believe that even they were included in the social whole.

* * *

CHAPTER VII.
JESUS AND THE SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

Enough has been said in the preceding papers to show that Jesus was a social reformer, and that he had a social sciency, and taught ideas of social renovation. We have seen that he was born amid lowly surroundings, reared in harsh conditions, worked at a trade, was one of the working class, that he was class-conscious and never got over it; and he taught doctrines so akin to modern Socialism that we feel that were he living today he would be one of us. Jesus taught that the laborer should have the product of his toil (Luke 10:7 and Matt. 10:10); he condemned interest (Luke 34:35); he condemned that idolizing of wealth which is the product of the competitive system (Mark 10:17-25; Luke 6:24); he arraigned the capitalist in more severe words than most modern Socialists can use; he spent his life, consecrated to help the lowly, the sick, the suffering, and he declared that in the final judgment of things the saved would be those who had felt social responsibility and had fed the hungry, clothed the naked, helped the sick, visited the prisoner, and that the damned should be those who did not do this. The only man Jesus ever condemned to hell was the arrogant, smug, self-satisfied capitalist who ignored the beggar.

It is hardly needful to compare the detailed teachings of Jesus with the teachings of Socialism to see that he would be a [illegible] Perhaps this has been [illegible]

[illegible] This [illegible] as he [illegible] it in his teaching:

"Our Father," this means equality, [illegible]
"In heaven," we have no superior [illegible]
"Thy kingdom come," give us our b[illegible] cel our debts, deliver us from the [illegible] poverty and misery.

Here we have the main desires of the [illegible] dom Jesus desired to found. Kaut[illegible] others have pointed out the custom of [illegible] celling the debts of the poor in [illegible] times, and think this is what Jesus [illegible] ferred to. It looks strangely as th[illegible] were right, but in order to evade [illegible] the church in its kindness to the [illegible] has changed the word "debt" to "t[illegible] In the parable of the Great Supp[illegible] bower finds that Jesus' idea was the [illegible] of the ruling class and the giving of [illegible] of government to the poor. He [illegible] Jesus evaded paying tribute to Caesar [illegible] is a fact. And he believes that Jesu[illegible] ples secretly armed themselves for a [illegible] tion; another matter for which there [illegible] evidence. In the equal pay for all [illegible] and in his teaching that he himself [illegible] the equal of the rest, and that he [illegible] the towel and wash feet, Bierbower [illegible] further teaching of equality. Therefore [illegible] bower sees these three ideas of Socialism [illegible] out in the teachings of Jesus:

1. Abolition of private property.
2. All men and women provided [illegible] cording to the principle of from each [illegible] ing to capacity, to each according to [illegible]
3. Equal labor and pay.

Now, while Bierbower's Socialism is [illegible] that of the Utopian stage than of the [illegible] scientific movement, yet it shows how [illegible] akin to Socialism were the ideas of [illegible]

We find then that Jesus had [illegible] social ideal, an ideal of a [illegible] economics and says it is the [illegible] human life and conduct. We Socialists [illegible] essentially workshop philosophy [illegible] life, in which we find that economic [illegible] have made the man, and that the [illegible] man partakes of this character. Now [illegible] Jesus' philosophy of human life agree [illegible] ous? Present day religionists say [illegible] will admit, if candid and intelligent, that [illegible] desired social health, had a social [illegible] allied himself with the under dog; [illegible] say that Jesus diagnosed the disease [illegible] different and proposed a remedy of a [illegible] ent sort. The church of all ages, but [illegible] cially the modern church, says the [illegible] fault is human nature. The church [illegible] reach out and make every man pious, [illegible] Socialism says uplift social organization [illegible] church says the trouble is lack of p[illegible] rectitude; Socialism says it is unjust [illegible] environment. So religionists say, that [illegible] Jesus had our ideal, he would propose [illegible] ferent method of attaining it. And [illegible] religionist calls the Socialist gross, [illegible] listic and godless. The Socialist ret[illegible] saying that the religionist is unscientific [illegible] row, ignorant.

I have before me a copy of "The C[illegible] Record," a religious paper run in the [illegible] of the Moody religious movement at [illegible] field, Mass. In it there is a reprint [illegible] of one of the star preachers that [illegible] most imports from England, and it [illegible] trates the way that the average [illegible] looks at life. This preacher, a Rev. D[illegible] cesses, visited a cottage [illegible] town and comes back on Sunday [illegible] of his experiences to his well-to-do [illegible] gation. I quote: "[illegible] is [illegible] place as you would like to live [illegible] no scenery, the people are poor, but [illegible] very kind, and one of the kindest [illegible] through the mills I saw the [illegible]

[illegible] Christ. [illegible] is a thread, good temper, honesty, kindness, courage are others. When you lie, or get angry, a thread snaps and you no longer make the goodness that pleases Christ. But remember Christ will come and help you mend the thread—one of the best things I know about Christ is that he is ever coming to help us mend threads."

Now, to the Socialist this is all rot. This preacher sees in the child labor of a factory only so much homiletic material for his sermon of platitudes, or at the most only a field of activity for the charity of his congregation. The Socialist can see quickly why it is that the rich of this country import preachers from England like Aked, Jowett, Campbell Morgan, when they talk like this. This preacher's admission as to the kindness of the people was an evidence that their character is already better off than their living and working conditions. In his admission that their town is poor and not such as he would like to live in, he betrays his own and his congregation's heartlessness. His statement about Jesus coming to mend threads is all cant; for if Jesus could come and mend any threads we know it would be the threads that some of these little, cotton-mill boys and girls are tending, so that they might go a fishing or to play ball. Here is set before us a smug hypocrisy and phariseeism of today, and yet it claims that Jesus would approve and join with them in hounding the poor for lack of per- [illegible] facts and figures to prove to himself that all disease, crime, insanity, pauperism is the progeny of drink; and then he enters upon a long dissertation as to the use of wine in the communion of the Apostolic churches. Now this is simply throwing dirt in the air. Crime, insanity, disease are largely the result of poverty, and this man begs the case when he ignores the social evil of poverty, and harps about the abuse of personal habits; and the use of wine in the church 1900 years ago has no bearing on the problems of today. Thus the attitude of the religionist; he sees but one thing to do, promote piety, secure salvation of the individual soul. But the Socialist sees that the scientific way to go about improvement is to uplift material conditions.

Now, into which camp would Jesus come? I have no hesitancy in saying he would be with the Socialists. No doubt the heart of Jesus would sorrow at malice, dissipations, and lack of personal regulation, but his keen mind would trace out the cause of all this and aim to remove it. In one of the reported talks of Jesus, we have his attitude toward our philosophy set forth. It is in the parable of the "Sower."

In this parable Jesus said there were three things that hindered the "good word" of God bearing fruit in the human life; first, there was the evil influence from the outside that drove it away; second, there was the lack of soul stamina, people who were too weak to [illegible] good." [illegible]

When the pre[illegible] of France began to teach that the world [illegible] place to live in, that human [illegible] sentially good, and that all [illegible] was decent conditions and [illegible] Christian church held its breath [illegible] and the large and influential [illegible] church has not yet caught its breath [illegible] we may safely say that the Hebrew and Christian movement took the same [illegible] as the French Encyclopedists. Moses, [illegible] Amos, Jesus, all agree with Diderot, V[illegible] D'Alembert and Mably. A painstaking [illegible] student has recently declared that of [illegible] verses in the Old Testament 2,412 [illegible] temporal conditions; and that of 7,959 [illegible] in the New Testament, 1,001 relate to temporal conditions.

Thus better than one verse in every [illegible] the Bible refers to the material living conditions of men and women. Jesus [illegible] sum and center of that Hebrew [illegible] the biggest, wisest star in that [illegible] and it is safe to say that a careful [illegible] of his teachings shows his profound [illegible] for the materially oppressed, and that [illegible] philosophy of life was sufficiently [illegible] note that the sure, safe way to uplift [illegible] is to begin with uplifting material conditions. Jesus would then agree with the philosophy of modern Socialism.

International Sunday School Lesson

Notes by George Mc A. Miller, Ph. D., President Ruskin College

SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON FOR SEPT. [illegible]

[illegible]

(... [illegible] outline may be used as [illegible] lesson)

I. [illegible] Showing Itself to Others in [illegible]:

1. Teaching to prepare for the Kingdom. Verse 35.
2. Preaching for bringing into the Kingdom. V. 35.
3. Healing to apply the principles of the Kingdom. V. 35.
4. Understanding conditions of those needing the Kingdom. V. 36.
5. Realizing the demand for workers for the Kingdom. Vs. 37-38.

II. Multiplying Itself Through Others by:

1. Inspiring zeal and developing power in others as workers for the Kingdom. Verses 1-4.
2. Discriminating as to proper field of operation in introducing the Kingdom. Vs. 5-6.
3. Progressive proclamation of the presence of the Kingdom. V. 7.
4. Commission to relieve personal suffering and distress as advance benefits of the Kingdom. V. 7.
5. Command to disregard all provision for luxury and ease and to take no reward for work in proclaiming the Kingdom. Vs. 9-10.
6. Instruction to establish local centers only in homes and communities worthy of the Kingdom. Vs. 11-13.
7. Testifying against homes and municipalities which reject the Kingdom. Vs. 14-15.

DIVISION I

1. Teaching should be recognized as the fundamental necessity for every forward movement of the race. Jesus made teaching the first consideration always. The established schools were shut against him and he was compelled to use the field, the mountain side and the sea shore; but he kept school all the time and had a good attendance. He used the synagogue wherever he could and furnished a good example for those who preach the Kingdom in our day through church channels wherever opportunity offers; and a rebuke to those who will not enter such open doors and object to others doing so.

2. The Greek word translated preach originally had no religious signification whatever. It means to proclaim, to herald. The chief business of the herald was to call the assembly together; not to persuade people to do this or that. Jesus' mission as a teacher was to instruct men in the principles of social harmony; as a herald it was simply to call together those who had been separated and scattered and were without any [illegible] organized social life—like sheep without a shepherd, and therefore [illegible] tion, knowing that when they got together in such a kingdom all else that was necessary would follow—would be "added."

He neither organized a church nor authorized the organization of one. The only instance in which he is reported to have mentioned any ecclesiastical organization is the conversation with Peter, where he is quoted as saying, 'On this rock will I build my church.' This passage has been the battle ground between Catholicism and Protestantism for ages; and there are strong grounds for the opinion held by many that this passage is an interpolation inserted for ecclesiastical purposes and never was a part of the original record.

3. The healing was a beneficent manifestation of the marvelous psychological phenomena that always accompanies the true teaching of the higher truths; and a complete coalition of the widespread psychological awakening, which is permeating all parts of the world under various names, with that of the still wider sociological awakening, which socialism is gradually coming about, would demonstrate that two forces co-operating for [illegible]

[illegible] with whom the promoters of the Kingdom were chiefly concerned, the standard comments speak of them simply as those who had wandered away from the true worship of God and had become indifferent to spiritual things. The literal rendering of the Greek translated "fainted" and "were scattered abroad" is "flayed and thrown down." This simply means that they were "skinned" [illegible] and the child [illegible] purpose of the teaching of the principles and the proclamation of the privileges of the Kingdom was to weld these scattered social outcasts into a Co-operative Brotherhood.

5. May we not often be mistaken about the people not being ready? Is it not rather those whose abilities fit them to act as teachers and heralds and healers that are not ready to do their part?

Div. II

As to this division, the outline statements are sufficient as to nearly all of the points involved. It may be stated in general terms, however, that this lesson, being introduced out of the regular order, which we have been following, as a "Missionary Lesson," deals with work done by Jesus during the latter part of his period of popularity and before the opposition treated in several preceding lessons began its systematic attack. His work had been so favorably received that he knew that his disciples would receive a generous welcome in most towns and villages, and that all their ordinary wants would be provided for. Later when persecution became prevalent he advised them to make preparations against the opposition, even to providing weapons—not for aggressive warfare, but for personal defense.

The best evidence of the genuineness of a movement is the [illegible]

On the other hand, the best evidence that an organization, [illegible] it may have anciently [illegible] figured in the history of a nation or of the world, has outlived its usefulness, if it ever had any, is the necessity of its getting its support and the support of those who operate its machinery by resorting to all sorts of indirect devices—begging, levying assessments, demanding fees, coddling rich contributors, condoning crime, compromising with evils and threatening with punishments in a future life.

And, finally, the best prophecy of the failure of any movement, however worthy its aims or its conception in the beginning, is to have its [illegible] or propagandists [illegible] economic machine for the payment of salaries of professional propagandists, the support of publishing interests and the maintenance of educational institutions on the theory that the movement exists for these things rather than that these things exist for the movement.

SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON FOR SEPTEMBER 15

Matt. 11:20-30

THE LAW OF LOVE

I. Upbraiding Impenitent Cities

1. For not accepting the demonstration of the power of righteousness. Verse 20.
2. For aspiring to riches, honor and power by [illegible] of greed and oppression. V. 21-24. Ezek. 28:16-18; [illegible]

II. Accepting Beneficent Law

1. In thankfulness that retribution for the unworthy comes revelation to the worthy. V. 25.
2. In recognizing that the blindness that hinders [illegible] is wrong and the sight that brings progress is the [illegible] alike good for the world. V. 26.

III. Inviting to Leisure and Labor; Work and Wisdom; Service and Satisfaction; Recreation and Rest.

1. Humanity (represented by the Son) can be understood only by being viewed from the standpoint of the [illegible] (as the Father sees it); and Divinity (represented by the Father) can be understood only by being viewed from the standpoint of humanity (as a [illegible]) [illegible] Son representing normal humanity [illegible]
2. True knowledge can be acquired only by [illegible] science with labor. Work that brings no [illegible] Service that brings no satisfaction is slavery [illegible] comes only in rest after a [illegible] history achievement.

[illegible]

[illegible]

centers of population.

[illegible]

Although Jesus did not set forth [illegible]

[illegible]

Section II.

[illegible]

Section III.

[illegible]

Then when Jesus says, "All things are delivered unto me (the Son) of my Father," he simply means that power to organize a New Social Order is committed to natural Humanity, (represented by the Son), and that this New Social Order must necessarily be composed of those who are willing to learn the principles of the New Order from its founder.

These principles having been rejected by the wealthy and educated class that controlled the cities around, he turned to the laboring class, as Paul turned from the Jews to the Gentiles.

The literal translation of his invitation from the Greek is, "Come unto me all that work hard and have heavy burdens placed upon you, and I will give you rest."

[illegible] only to physical labor and physical rest, [illegible] secondary meaning refer to spiritual condition.

The plain meaning of it all is that Jesus was inviting laborers into his co-operative brotherhood which was the beginning of his Kingdom on earth, where they would receive the rewards of their physical labor and have a chance to rest. They were to have rest as the first experience of the new social life—rest from the long years of toil for exacting masters, and when once rested they were to take up the new brotherhood service which was easy and light, where all worked together and lived on the product of their toil.

Then they would have some leisure for learning which had heretofore been monopolized by the ruling classes.

[illegible] related to the word [illegible] are [illegible] instruction and learning. And this is the natural sequence. [illegible] New Order gave them physical rest and leisure to improve their minds, which, together with easy labor which itself was a means of instruction, [illegible] should find for themselves rest in their minds; rest from the terrors of ignorance and superstition that haunt the minds of those who are kept in mental darkness.

Here are set forth ideal conditions of development which fulfill John Ruskin's dream of better things for the common life of man:

"It takes labor to make thought healthy;
It takes thought to make labor happy."

News and Views

By [illegible]

Within a period of fifty years the population of the United States increased 330 per cent, while the number of insane and feeble minded increased 950 per cent, according to the recent census. Practically all of which is due to the increased and excessive use of alcohol in one form or another, and [illegible]

This statement may be considered conclusive by those who have taken but a superficial view of the question, but [illegible]

[illegible]

The Kirksville, Mo., local of the Socialist party recently sent out a ringing set of resolutions against illegal liquor-selling, the root of much lawlessness, calling for the revocation of the licenses of liquor-dealers that sell their wares illegally. One of the signers of this resolution is Mr. Ray G. Hulburt, a well-known Endeavorer, who is running for office on the Socialist ticket.—Christian Endeavor World.

The editor of these notes was once president of the Epworth League of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Kirksville, and he is glad to know [illegible] of the Christian [illegible] are active in that local. [illegible] were so in every Socialist local in the country, but the pity is it is not.

[illegible]

• • •

Boston, and to give the money thus saved to the fund of the striking employes. They will wear buttons with the legends, "Brothers All" and "Hands Across the Truths." It is not likely that their savings will swell the strike fund to any considerable degree, but it is a most significant thing that girls in their station of life should think it worth while to show an active sympathy in the struggle of workmen for better conditions. [illegible] —Presbyterian Advance.

• • •

The second ballot for the [illegible] election which took place in Belgium on June 15, resulted in the return of [illegible] Clericals, [illegible] Liberals and [illegible] Socialists [illegible]

• • •

[illegible] Socialist meetings. A Socialist club in Nashville has recently asked the protection of the courts against the interference of the police, claiming that the latter had no grounds for such interference except that it was a Socialist club. It is impossible for us to know the truth of these charges or what other grounds the officers of the law had for their action against these complainants, but it seems unbelievable that any man with sufficient intelligence to be a judge, or an officer of the law, should question the right of a citizen of the United States to be a Socialist, or to attend Socialist meetings. They might as well question his right to be a Democrat or a Republican. When the English Parliament and the German Reichstag could have numerous Socialist members, and the Congress of the United States has at least one, it seems rather late to question the right of a citizen to be a Socialist. [illegible] We who demand liberty must grant liberty.—Presbyterian Advance.

• • •

The legislature of Massachusetts has adopted the [illegible] amendment [illegible] for the direct election of United States [illegible]

[illegible]

irresistible. It is easy to fasten blame on a dead individual; it is hard to convict a living but elusive public; but we believe the public was to blame.—Presbyterian Advance.

That is always the way with capitalist investigations, and a dead "scapegoat" is better than a live one; he can't "come back."

• • •

"A Characteristic Attitude" is the label applied by the editor of "The Living Church," the organ of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to the conduct of a Brooklyn manufacturer, who [illegible] if the ventilation bill which was introduced in the state legislature last winter had become a law. When he learned that in common with several other desirable measures it had failed to pass, but that up-to-date information on ventilation had been collected and would be mailed to him, this manufacturer said: "No, I don't care to know anything about that. I only wished to make sure that I was within the law."

[illegible]

This is the first award of the kind [illegible] and will no doubt be [illegible] of other awards in future [illegible] the same nature.

• • •

Senator Johnston of Alabama [illegible]

[illegible]